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Personification of *Mors* in Classical Latin Poetry

One of the pronounced characteristics of classical letters—and of classical art—is the pleasing, though sometimes mystifying, habit of personifying abstract ideas.¹ The range of personification proves very wide, and as far as my knowledge goes, not over many abstractions, so handled, seem to have been studied in detail. The present paper, then, purposes some remarks on the habit of the Roman poets in personifying *mors*.²

The following poets, not all of whom, however, afforded matter for study, came under scrutiny: Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Accius, Plautus, Terence, Lucilius, Lucretius, Catullus, Publilius Syrus, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Seneca, Persius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, Silius Italicus, Martial, and Juvenal.³ Incidentally considered were Claudian, Ausonius, Prudentius, and some inscriptions. I have not concerned myself with ancient philosophic or religious conceptions of *mors*, with the place of *mors* in mythology, with *mors* as treated in classical art, or even with Roman obligations to Greek literary expressions of death. All these are highly interesting and important, but in view of somewhat rigid restrictions set to this investigation such comments on these points as may occur are the result rather of chance encounter.

The Deified *Mors*

First of all, a few passages are to be found in which *mors* is referred to as a deity:

... Non me mortis infernae locus
Nec maesta nigri regna conterrent Iovis;
Sed ire ad illos umbra, quos vici, deos,
Pater, erubescio (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1704-1707).

... Nullum belli sentire fragorem,
Tot mundi caruisse malis, praestare deorum
Excepta quis morte potest? (Luc. 5.228-230)

... Vel numina torque
Vel tu parce deis et manibus exprime verum.
Elysias resera sedes ipsamque vocatam,
Quos petat e nobis, mortem mihi coge fateri (Luc. 6.598-601).⁴

Obviously striking here is the fact that such personification occurs only relatively late in the history of Latin poetry, and is confined to Seneca and Lucan. Attention may be called to the claim that no conclusive proof exists that *mors* was honored as a deity at Rome, or *thanatos* in Greece,⁵ and that the homage accorded *mors* on tombstones does not represent a

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ritual act of adoration but a form of piety to the dead.⁶

Other passages occur where *mors* is personified mythologically⁷ without explicit reference to divinity. For example, *mors* is said to possess a dwelling in the underworld⁸ by Ennius,⁹ Seneca,¹⁰ Statius,¹¹ Claudian,¹² and in lines on various tombstones.¹³ In still other passages *mors* is described as the brother of Sleep,¹⁴ as one having as kinsmen Ruin, Pestilence, Toil, Corruption, and Sorrow,¹⁵ as the adversary conquered by Hercules,¹⁶ and as the conductor to the other world.¹⁷ These mythological personifications appear mainly in the Silver Age Latin poets. Indebtedness to Greek poetry is probably extensive.

Literary Personifications

The overwhelming number of personifications of *mors* seems purely literary in character. Of these many are effected by particular verbs,¹⁸ a smaller number by various nouns¹⁹ and epithets.²⁰ Personification of this sort we may term *simple* literary personification; it appears in both Golden and Silver Age poetry. Few of the examples are especially effective: *mors* is chiefly the terrible, black destroyer coming to men and taking them off. In epic and didactic poetry, Lucretius, Lucan, and Statius have frequently personified *mors* by these less picturesque means, while Vergil,²¹ Valerius Flaccus, and Silius Italicus preserve rather few instances.

More elaborate literary personifications seem to have existed as early as Ennius, if we may trust a

statement by Quintilian: *Sed formas quoque fingimus saepe, ut Famam Vergilius . . . ut Mortem ac Vitam, quas contendentes in Satura tradit Ennius*.²² But the "practice" seems not to have been observed again until the time of Horace. That poet in one of two pertinent passages speaks of the fitting about of black-winged death:

. . . Mors atris circumvolat alis (*Sat.* 2.1.58).²³

Here it may be recalled that in Greek art death had been depicted as a winged young man, nude, of melancholy aspect, and wearing a sword at his hip.²⁴ *Atra*, a common epithet of *mors*,²⁵ probably indicates that death's approach is invisible. In the second, more familiar passage from Horace death is pale, and knocks alike at the poor man's shop and the palace of the king:

Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turris (*Carm.* 1.4.13-14).²⁶

Tibullus preserves an unusual picture of death coming with its head shrouded in shadows:

Iam veniet tenebris mors adoperta caput (1.1.70).

Harrington believes that Tibullus may have been inspired by the Roman custom of veiling the face as the torch was applied to the funeral pyre, or by the fact that death and the after-life were only dimly understood.²⁷ Smith, however, suggests that Tibullus may have had in mind the Homeric *Ἄϊδος κνήμεν*, the "cap of darkness," described by Hesiod²⁸ as *νυκτὸς ζόφον αἰὼν ἔχουσα*, "having the dread gloom of night," making its wearer invisible to all except its victims, as in Euripides' *Alkestis* (259-260).²⁹ Smith likewise indicates that the humanists were much impressed by Tibullus' description; for example, Pontanus and Joannes Secundus. Several passages in Statius present a somewhat similar picture of *mors*:

. . . Iam mortis opaca
Nube gravis (*Silv.* 4.6.72-73).

. . . Nigrae praecedunt nubila mortis (*Theb.* 9.851).

Elsewhere Tibullus speaks of black death's greedy hands:

Abstineas avidas mors modo nigra manus;
Abstineas, mors atra, precor (1.3.4-5),

by which image Ovid may have been influenced:

Scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat,
Omnibus obscuras inicit illa manus (*Am.* 3.9.19-20).³⁰

A final, graphic portrayal comes from Tibullus' pen:

Quis furor est atram bellis accersere mortem?
Imminet et tacito clam venit illa pede (1.10.33-34).³¹

Mors as Vampire

Seneca seems to be the earliest of the Roman poets to conceive *mors* to be almost a kind of vampire:

Et cum mors avidis pallida dentibus
Gentes innumeras Manibus intulit.
Uno tot populi remige transeunt (*Herc. Fur.* 555-557).

Mors atra avidos oris hiatus
Pandit, et omnes explicat alas (*Oed.* 164-165).

Statius in a powerful description has the bird of death come from the Stygian regions to flit above the field of battle, attracting to its black maw those special warriors whom it marks by its bloody nail:

. . . Stygiisque emissa tenebris
Mors fruitur caelo bellatoremque volando
Campum operit nigroque viros invitat hiatu,
Nil vulgare legens: sed quae dignissima vita
Funera, praecipuos annis animisque cruento
Ungue notat (*Theb.* 8.376-381).

Silius Italicus writes in somewhat similar vein:

Mors graditur, vasto cava pandens guttura rictu,
Casuroque inhiat populo (2.548-549).³²

Has passim nigrum pandens mors lurida rictum
Itque reditque vias et portis omnibus errat (13.560-561).³³

Finally, in a passage from Statius where one finds personifications of Passion, Crime, Anger, Fear, Treachery, and so on, *mors* appears, clad in armor, blood-stained of face:

. . . Voltuque cruento
Mors armata sedet (*Theb.* 7.52-53).

A significant point develops at last: of the more picturesque literary personifications, we find none where *mors* has either torch or sword as happens in ancient art.³⁴ *Mors* rather in these examples is black, winged, stealthy, and voracious.

Apostrophes to Mors

A number of personifications remain which may be considered as belonging to a single group. These involve address or apostrophe to *mors*. With one exception—from Propertius³⁵—they occur in writings post-dating the Golden Age. Death is asked to spare either by coming or departing. In Seneca³⁶ and in inscriptions³⁷ most of these personifications are to be found. Though not as picturesque as those considered earlier they are often effective enough.

From a consideration of the examples cited, one point becomes quite clear: interest in vivid and striking personification of *mors* belongs mainly to poets of the Silver Age.³⁸ Horace and Tibullus seem to be the precursors. The scope of this study does not allow investigation of the causes for the phenomenon. Certainly the literary treatment of such terms as *fatum* and *letum*, if not many more, would have to be scrutinized also. I hazard the surmise that the answer surely cannot lie in "rhetoric" alone.

Leo Max Kaiser

Saint Joseph's College,
Philadelphia

NOTES

(For the convenience of the reader it may be remarked here that references in the notes below to "Buecheler" indicate the work bibliographical details of which are given in note 13.)

1 In this connection see the interesting article by W. C. Greene, "Personifications," *OCD* 669-671. 2 In all passages cited we have refrained from capitalizing *mors* in an effort to present detached evidence. Useful earlier studies are the following: R. Peter, "Mors," in W. H. Roscher, *Lex.* (Leipzig 1894) II, 3218-3219. Jesse B. Carter, *Epitheta decorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* (Leipzig 1902) 72. J.-A. Hild, "Mors," *DarSag* 3.2.2006-2007. H. J. Rose, "Thanatos," *OCD* 890. 3 Besides the authors mentioned other writings in the

following collections have been examined: E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb Series: Cambridge 1935); Otto Ribbeck, *Comicoorum Romanorum praeter Plautum et Terentium fragmenta*² (Leipzig 1873). 4 The second passage from Lucan Servius cites (11.197) as grounds for considering *mors* a *dea*. Cf. Cic. Nat. D. 3.44: *Quod si ita est, Caeli quoque parentes di habendi sunt, Aether et Dies, eorumque fratres et sorores qui a genealogis nominantur, Amor, Dolus, Metus, Labor, Invidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors . . . quos omnis Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt*; Tert. Ad Nat. 2.15: . . . *et ipsius mortis dea est*], where perhaps Tertullian meant *Morta* (cf. Aul. Gell. 3.16.11, and Peter, *op. cit.* [supra n. 2] 3218). 5 See Peter, *op. cit.* (supra n. 2) 3218; Rose, *op. cit.* (supra n. 2) 890; H. L. Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (Chicago 1907) 54-55. But Greene (*op. cit.* [supra n. 1] 670) writes that there is evidence of a cult of *thanatos* at Sparta. 6 See Hild, *op. cit.* (supra n. 2) 2008. According to one investigator, names of gods are employed in inscriptions (verse epitaphs) for poetic adornment; see Albert G. Harkness, "The Skepticism and Fatalism of the Common People as Illustrated by the Sepulchral Inscriptions," *TAPA* 30 (1890) 65. One may refer here to Ov. Met. 2.340-341: *nec minus Heliades fletus, et inania morti / munera dant lacrimas*. Cf. Aesch. *Niobe* (fr. 82 Smyth), and "Aeschylus" in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1392; cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 764-766. 7 It is at times well-nigh impossible to determine whether a particular personification of *mors* is mythological in nature or merely literary. Some examples may be a mixture of both. Rose writes (*op. cit.* supra n. 2): "Death, as a person, hardly rises to the level of a mythological figure, belonging rather to folklore or poetical fancy." 8 Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 758-759. 9 *Trag.* 252 (Warmington, *op. cit.* [supra n. 3]), where the idea of the "treasure" of *mors* was suggested by the Greek Pluto-Ploutos; cf. the epitaph of Naevius (Warmington, *op. cit.* [supra n. 3] 154); Tib. 3.3.38; Aul. Gell. 1.24.2; Claud. *De Raptu Proserp.* 1.20-22. 10 *Med.* 740-742 (cf. Verg. *G.* 4.478); *Oed.* 126; *Herc. Fur.* 55-56, 706; *Herc. Oet.* 766-767, 1949-1950. 11 *Silv.* 5.1.168-169; *Theb.* 4.473-474; 4.528-529, where *mors* counts the silent throngs for its master; 8.24; cf. also *Theb.* 8.376-381 discussed below. 12 *De Raptu Proserp.* 2.355. 13 See F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Leipzig 1895-1897) 301.7-9; 1339.1-2. Other expressions perhaps also to be considered here occur in Tib. 1.10.4; Prop. 3.7.2; Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 1245; Stat. *Theb.* 4.413-414; Auson. *Technop.* 3.3-4; Buecheler 2018.3-4 (a Christian epitaph). See Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 28; Urbana 1942) 169. 14 Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 1068-1069. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.231; Hes. *Theog.* 756; Verg. *Aen.* 6.278; Stat. *Theb.* 5.197-199; *Silv.* 5.4. 15 Sen. *Oed.* 652-653. Cf. Höfer, "Letum," in Roscher, *op. cit.* (supra n. 2) 1981. 16 Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 13-14, 1376, 1553, 1948; Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.172; 4.6.104-105. Euripides' description of Death in his *Alkestis* had great influence on both Greek and Roman poets; see Hild, *op. cit.* (supra n. 2) 2006. Euripides described *thanatos* as the black-garbed king of corpses (843-844), the lord of spirits (1140), savage (64), possessing a sword to destroy (74), "drinking" the victim at the tomb (845). 17 Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 216-217; Stat. *Theb.* 1.632-633, where *mors* with its sword cuts the Sisters' thread; Sil. 13.527-529; Claud. *De Raptu Proserp.* 3.237-238; *CIL* 14.3565b.8-11; Buecheler 346.3-4; 562.18-19. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.671-672; Eur. *Alc.* 25.47.

18 *Abolere* (Prud. *Praef.* 30); *abripere* (Buecheler 2179.5); *accedere* (Buecheler 1116.3; *accersi* (Sil. 4.674); *accusari* (Auson. *Epit. Her.* 35.5); *accumulare* (Lucr. 6.1263); *adsequi* (Buecheler 90.4); *adimere* (Ter. *An.* 697; Lucr. 3.869); *adstare* (Lucr. 3.959; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.702); *aequare* (Sil. 13.777; Claud. *De Raptu Proserp.* 2.302); *ali* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 942); *auferre* (Buecheler 56.6); *cedere* (Prud. *Perist.* 10.606-607); *certum facere* (Lucr. 9.583); *claudere* (Prop. 2.13.17; Ov. *Met.* 3.503); *cludere* (Mart. 11.91.11); *cogere* (Prud. *Hamart.* 838); *conficere* (Lucr. 2.1002-1003); *congregari* (Prud. *Perist.* 10.606); *coniungere* (Lucr. 2.1004); *consequi* (Ter. *Phorm.* 750); *consumere* (Tib. 1.3.55); *contendere* (Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.36); *currere* (Lucr. 2.100); *dare* (Buecheler 1331.6); *deprendere* (Ov. *Met.* 7.580-581); *deserere* (Prud. *Hamart.* 837-838); *detrudere* (Buecheler 1337.7); *dirimere* (Lucr. 1.114); *discernere* (Lucr. 3.605); *dissimulare* (Buecheler 1971.5-6); *dissipare* (Lucr. 2.1002-1003); *dividere* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.13); *domari* (Prud. *Perist.* 10.644); *efficere* (Lucr. 2.1004-1005); *eripere* (Sen. *Oed.* 934); *executere* (Sen. *Troad.* 575); *eximere* (Lucr. 3.864); *explicare* (Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.260-261); *extinguere* (Publ. *Syr.* (Concluded on page 57)

Tragic Dido*

In all the literature written in the Latin language, the most striking character is Dido. About a generation after Vergil's death, Ovid observed that the episode of Dido was the most popular part of the *Aeneis*. Saint Augustine as a schoolboy detested Greek and arithmetic ("The saying that two and two make four was an unpleasant song in my ears"), but he loved Latin and Vergil, and was reduced to tears by Dido's tragic death for love. Macrobius, learned contemporary of Saint Augustine, declared that for centuries Dido had been the chief subject of painters, sculptors, and embroiderers, and the constant inspiration of songs and dances for the stage.

Most modern readers agree with ancient saints and sinners that the Dido episode is Vergil's masterpiece of human interest; and Dido and Aeneas have been canonized among the great lovers celebrated in literature, along with Romeo and Juliet, Dante and Beatrice, Abélard and Héloïse.¹

It was Vergil's purpose to create in Dido an embodiment of Carthage, just as Aeneas was designed to be the ideal Roman. The world-shaking quarrel between Carthage and Rome could best become a dramatic and compelling subject for epic poetry by being incarnated in two heroic characters. These two persons, after first being powerfully drawn together by love, must then be caught up in still more powerful conflicts leading to separation, tears, whirlwinds of passionate words, a curse, a pyre, and death.

Aeneas's Initial Interest

The initial element of attraction is the admiration that Aeneas feels for Dido's character, even before he emerges from his cloud. He sees the energy with which she pushes the building of her new city—*dux femina facti*. He sees from the paintings in the interior of Juno's temple that she has a heart which throbs with sympathy for human suffering and that she knows of the woes of the Trojans in their disastrous war—*sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*. He sees her come to the temple, walking like a queen, like a goddess upon earth. He sees her dispensing justice to her subjects with impartiality, dignity, and regal grace. He sees her making generous and hospitable response to Ilioneus when he comes with a delegation from the missing ships to ask for mercy. And let us not forget that he sees her a beautiful woman. *Gratior et pulcro veniens in corpore virtus* (5.344). After he steps forth from the cloud and speaks with Dido, his admiration for her is heightened by her firm pronouncement of generous internationalism: *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*. In short, everything in her bearing and behavior in Book 1 causes him to feel

toward her great admiration and fervently expressed gratitude.

Dido's First Response

Now what were the first promptings toward love in the heart of Dido? We need to recall that she is a lonesome woman and a widow. No member of her family has accompanied her to the new home in the West except her sister Anna. Her queenly position almost necessarily fixes a gulf between her and her subjects. However little she realizes it, she is desperately lonely for companionship with some one who is her peer in rank, noble in character, and perhaps having a few other estimable qualities for good measure. When Aeneas suddenly materializes from the cloud, he looks like the answer to persevering prayer. Happy at the news of his ships returned and comrades safe, filled with admiration and gratitude toward the queen, he is radiant, eloquent, kingly, and irresistible.

Dido's Growing Passion

Dido's next step toward love is taken when she receives the lavish gifts which Aeneas orders to be fetched from the ships. These gifts consist of feminine finery, nicely calculated to win a woman's eye and then her heart. We may pause a moment to suggest two probable reasons for Dido's previous rejection of her African suitor, Iarbas: first, he looked like Othello, and second, he did not offer the queen any beautiful articles of clothing. *Varium et mutabile semper femina*, but one point where woman never varies is in her love for finery. But these clothes, alas! although they were given with the best intentions and received with joy, were an unblest gift of dismal omen, foreshadowing Dido's doom. They were royal clothes that Helen had worn during her years of guilty union with Paris, years that were disastrous alike to the Greeks and the Trojans. The garments had about them the faint perfume of a woman who was disloyal to her first husband. But Vergil does not stress the matter; the most careful reader finds but the shade of a hint.

Dido's third step toward love is taken when she fondles the pseudo-Ascanius: *pariter puero donisque movetur*. In spite of her happy marriage with Sychaeus, she had remained childless; and yet she craved the glory of being a mother. All her deepest feminine instincts were awakened when she held Aeneas's child warm against her heart. He was the replica and image of his father, and like the clothes, he was also winsome—but dangerous to Dido's ultimate happiness. Venus was taking unnecessary precautions by sending Cupid instead of Ascanius, for Ascanius himself would have been enough to awaken Dido to love for himself and indirectly for the father who looked just like him.

Dido and Cleopatra

The question naturally arises: how could Vergil, who was a bachelor and an extraordinarily shy and retiring man, know enough about women to create a character like Dido? The answer is that Vergil knew women mostly from books and partly from hearsay about the most colorful woman of his own period, one of the most colorful women that we know either from history or legend. One of those who sat for Vergil's portrait of Dido was Cleopatra. Cleopatra, although a Greek, lived in Oriental luxury, and in the thought and literature of the Romans she was definitely a representative of the wealthy, fabulous East. As such, she was matched against the representative of the West, the historical counterpart of Vergil's Aeneas, Octavian. In her leadership and importance she was *dux femina facti*. She was charming. She understood and felt and gave vent to passionate love. By her love and her charm, which had ensnared Antony, she stood as a roadblock on the highway of Roman destiny. And above all, she was a queen, a decidedly able, imperious, proud, and queenly queen. Greek literature could not furnish a pattern of such a regal, stately, statesmanlike, and dominating feminine monarch. Cleopatra, like Dido, committed suicide in a dramatic way when she could not make her will prevail. Tennyson comprehended the spirit of the Egyptian queen when he wrote:

I died a queen. The Roman soldier found
Me lying dead, my crown about my brows,
A name forever!¹²

So too Dido, in the last sharp moment before the stab, spoke in the proud accents of a queen (4.654): *Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago*.

Dido and Medea

The other ghosts that flitted in the background of Vergil's mind as he drew his portrait of Dido arose from the pages of the books that he had read. Chief of these ghosts was Medea, as she was known from Apollonius and Euripides. The Oriental Medea fell immediately and hotly in love with the calm Westerner, Jason, and promptly put him under a heavy debt of gratitude by using her magic arts to bring him safely through all his ordeals and perils. Her symptoms of love and her behavior as a love-mad woman were just what Vergil needed for his conception of Dido. Medea was ardent, and Jason rather complacently acquiesced. Much later, when Jason rejected and left her, Medea spoke vehement and violent words of denunciation and sought revenge. Medea's vengeance took effect immediately, while Dido's took the form of a curse which was to eventuate, after many centuries, in the Punic Wars. Some of the parallels between the two heroines are in their resort to magic, their uncontrolled love followed by fierce vindictiveness, and their tempestuous utterances.

Dido and Ariadne

A third ghost in Vergil's mind was Ariadne, probably best known to him from Catullus' poem (64) on Theseus and Ariadne. Like Medea and Dido, Ariadne fell in love suddenly, and promptly bound her lover by an enormous debt of gratitude, saving him from the Minotaur and the labyrinth. Then Theseus proceeded to accept her, and speedily thereafter to desert her. Ariadne, awaking, sees the sails of her lover's retreating ship, calls him perfidious, and invokes upon him a curse which does come to fruition. She does not commit suicide, but otherwise Vergil's Dido gave an example of Ariadne's history repeating itself.

Dido's story is a tragedy because she committed a basic fault. When her husband Sychaeus was most foully murdered, leaving upon her high-strung nature an ineffaceable scar, she took an oath that she would never marry again, and that she would remain true to the memory of the sweetheart of her youth. Such a vow was not necessary nor customary, but Dido in a frenzy of emotion and devotion took the vow. Habitual readers of the *Aeneis* recall that in the palace at Carthage, Dido had a beautiful marble shrine in honor of Sychaeus (4.457-459).

Conflict in Dido's Heart

Now she found it perfectly easy to keep her vow of fidelity to her dead husband as long as no other suitors except Iarbas and other Africans were in the offing. But Aeneas was the man of destiny who could put her resolution to the supreme test. In line 27 of Book 4, after telling Anna of her love, she prays that she may die rather than break her vow. Twenty-seven lines later, persuaded by Anna's seemingly practical arguments and commonsense advice, Dido decides to break her vow. Her doom is sealed from that moment. This was the Aristotelian *ἁμαρτία*, the tragic error, which inevitably led to the downfall of the victim.

Essential to the structure of a tragedy is conflict. In the Dido episode there is involved enough struggle to satisfy the most exacting demands of drama. Earliest comes the internal struggle in Dido's heart, as her loyalty to her vow wrestles with her temptation to give way to her passionate love for Aeneas. This boils down to a struggle between love and duty, in which love gains the upper hand. Later, the same basic problem confronts Aeneas, when he receives the divine command to leave Carthage. His answer is the opposite of Dido's, and his love immediately yields to his sense of duty. Clearly there is a fundamental conflict between Aeneas and Dido in their philosophy of life, prompting them to opposite reactions. Aeneas is an idealized Stoic, with the Stoic qualities of fortitude, patience, and devotion to duty. Dido is a sort of Epicurean, in the popular sense of

the term, whose watchword is pleasure. She craves and demands the happiness that comes from the gratification of her desires.

In the conflict which thus arises between Dido and Aeneas, Vergil saw a pattern of a more universal conflict. The glory of Vergil and Shakespeare is that they rise from particular instances to universal meanings. At the heart of the matter is the clash between the man's way and the woman's way. The man is guided by his reason and his head, and goes forth to do his duty in the world of men. The woman is guided by her intuition and her heart, and wants to create a home with a loving husband and with a little Aeneas playing in the yard. "The heart also has its reasons," says Dido, quoting a future saying of Pascal.

Dido and Aeneas as Symbols

The greatest and most terrible conflict that the Romans knew was the Punic Wars. In foreshadowing this titanic struggle, Dido is, as we have said, the symbol of Carthage and Aeneas of Rome. The emotional climax of Book 4 comes when Dido, wrought up to a high pitch of frenzy, pronounces a dramatic, intense, and violent curse upon Aeneas and his descendants. The curse predestines perpetual hostility and unyielding hatred between the Carthaginians and the future Romans who are to spring from Aeneas. *Pugnent ipisque nepotesque* (4.629).

One further aspect of the conflict between Dido and Aeneas is that it symbolizes the clash between East and West. Dido is like the violent, passionate, and stormy women of the East, Medea and Cleopatra. She has the qualities of imagination, colorfulness, vacillation, vindictiveness, and impulsiveness. She rules her people like an Oriental queen, amid Oriental pomp, luxury, and glory. Aeneas, on the other hand, is a Westerner in that he is strong, reticent, steady. He is like a solid oak tree, unshaken by the winds of Oriental passion which blow about him. The great sorrow which he feels at leaving Dido cannot swerve him from his purpose: *Mens immota manet: lacrimae voluntur inanes* (4.449). The West has met the East, and after a swirl of conflict the West emerges victor. But it is a tragic victory, bringing tears to the victor as well as to the vanquished. Such is Vergil's reading of life. Wherever we turn, *Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalalia tangunt*.

Dido's Inevitable Doom

And so the chain of conflicts spells inevitable doom for Dido. She mounts the pyre, the blood spurts around the sword that Aeneas had given her, the servants shriek, Anna runs, Rumor flies through the city, and Iris glides down the beautiful rainbow

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E D I T O R I A L

Five Hundredth Anniversary of Constantinople's Fall

History has been so replete with events, and changes have been so manifold, that it seems at first difficult to realize that only five hundred years have elapsed since the fall of Constantinople to the Turkish forces. Yet the half-millennium will occur this year; for it was on May 29, 1453, that the imperial city, long beleaguered, was stormed by the Ottoman forces under Mahomet II, the Conqueror, and the Crescent of Mohammedanism replaced the Cross on the *Hagia Sophia*. Resistance had been prolonged by the valor of Constantine Palaeologus, the last emperor, and a contingent of Latins present with him. But the Turkish victory was complete, and the city that had for eleven centuries been the capital of the Roman Empire in the East, and a bastion of Western learning in the Orient, passed into the hands of the infidel.

We have long since corrected certain sentimentalizations about this event as associated with the reawakening of interest in Greek among scholars of the West. Sir John Edwin Sandys well remarks in his *A Short History of Classical Scholarship* (p. 186):

The fall of Constantinople was once regarded as the cause of the Revival of Greek Learning in Italy. But, exactly a century before that event, Petrarch possessed a MS. of Homer and of Plato; the whole of Homer was translated into Latin for the use of Petrarch and Boccaccio; and Boccaccio learnt Greek. Half a century before the fall, Greek was being taught in Florence by Chrysoloras; and the principal Greek prose authors had been translated, and at least five of the foremost of the Greek refugees had reached Italy, before the overthrow of the doomed city.

And of course, we have long ago learned, too, that *renaissance* is not a term to be appropriated exclusively to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth cen-

turies. The glories of learning in the thirteenth century need no apologist; and one can with all correctness speak of a *renaissance* in the twelfth century, in the tenth, and in the eighth. No one now overlooks the brilliant intellectual and cultural achievements of the Saxon House in the tenth century, under the three German Ottos—Otto I, the Great, Otto II, and Otto III.

It was in the person of Otto II that the alliance of Western culture with that of the East was symbolized by his marriage in 972 to Theophano, highly educated daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Romanus II. Their son, Otto III, known for his great intellectual powers as the "Wonder of the World," was very influential in introducing into Germany Greek art and courtly customs of Constantinople—and this despite his early death, at the age of twenty-two; it was fitting, in the sense of its classical associations, that this demise should occur in the Castle of Paterno situated at the foot of Mount Soracte.

Yet, with all such corrective notions in mind, it is still happily convenient to look upon Constantinople as a symbol as well as a fact, and to envision its fall five hundred years ago as the passing of one era and the beginning of another—as if, when the Turkish victor rode into the queenly city, the Spirit of Classical Antiquity, long sheltered there, passed for safeguarding to the younger nations of the West. Constantinople had served ancient culture well, not alone by preserving and sedulously copying the precious manuscripts of Greek literature, but by adding an enormous mass of original compositions, including lexica, scholastic commentaries, anecdotes, histories, and a host of other works.

To the city of Constantine, then, symbol of the West in the East and the East returned to the West, city of ancient Greek and Roman and Byzantine Greek, city of pagan and Christian and Mohammedan, in this five hundredth anniversary of its fall—though not its death—the world of the classical tradition may fittingly voice a *salve* and a *χαίρε!*

—W. C. K.

As Trench and many other scholars maintain, quantity, being foreign to the Italian soil, never obtained a wide recognition in the universal sense of the people. Even in the days of pagan poetry's greatest achievement, the lyric measures of Horace appealed only to an exclusive literary group; his odes never became popular songs.—O. J. Kuhnmuellen, S.J., in *Early Christian Latin Poets*.

Humanity can not afford to lose out of its inheritance any of the best work which has been done in the past. All that is most beautiful and most instructive in Greek achievement is our permanent possession.—Jebb.

Macte Virtute, *Latinitas*!

His diebus nostris, quae humanitati et rerum antiquarum culturae varia ratione inimicae esse videntur, novos commentarios illos, qui *Latinitas* inscribuntur, hilares laetissimique excipimus. Nam linguae perennis est, non modo omni tempore in usu florere, sed etiam semper novas sui exprimendi vias explorare. Et in paginis *Latinitatis*, ut eius Editores rite asseverant, locus erit disserendi de multis iis rebus, quas praeceptores, quas lexicographi, quas philologi, quas ceteri diligunt dediti ad ea studia humaniora promovenda, antiquitus fundata nec non per saecula Christiana servata et pie exaggerata. Talem periodicam Roma prodire, auspice Sede Apostolica, aequum esse videtur et omnino proprium; urbem enim Romam et matrem antiquam linguae ipsius Latinae esse profitemur, et matrem sempiternam illius humanitatis Christianae in eadem urbe per saecula nutritae. *Latinitatis* quidem fasciculus primus iam apparuit, mense Ianuario huius anni MDCCCCLIII in lucem editus, curantibus Monsignore Antonio Bacci eiusque sociis doctissimis; et ab hoc ineunte exemplari fasciculi quarto quoque mense videbuntur. Salvere ergo *Latinitatem* iubere volumus, eiusque Editoribus amplissimo honore dignissimis clara voce clamare "Ad multos annos!"

Gulielmus Carolus Korfmacher

Editor, THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN

Why Read Latin Literature?

The classics teacher is perennially face to face with a problem that only occasionally bothers his colleagues in other disciplines. He must continually present to many of his students material of relatively low intellectual appeal, while other teachers are stimulating the same student minds and imaginations with material much more advanced in nature. The boy or girl who in English courses is already reading and discussing masterpieces of one of the world's great literatures can with difficulty regard learning a rudimentary Latin grammar and vocabulary as an exciting task. The student who in science courses is unlocking what seem to be the very secrets of the universe, or in economics courses is learning the eminently practical, if not thrilling, rules of making and losing money, can hardly look upon the simple translation ability of the first years of Latin as a very worthwhile achievement.

The study of Latin literature, however, has unusual significance. Literature, which may be defined as the expression of values in excellent writing, wrestles with concepts of value continuously and in many aspects—the beautiful as well as the good, the universal as well as the particular, the supernatural as well as the natural. Consequently, the teaching of literature should be one of the most significant and exciting functions of the modern educator.

Claims of Latin Literature

Assuming this to be true of literature in general, why Latin literature specifically? Why the literature of a long vanished culture? The answer is this. Literature deals with the expression of values. The most important values that engage the attention of men are (*pace* Marx and Spengler) universal. They were valid for the Romans; they are valid for us. These values, the Latins probed and analyzed and expressed with such effective eloquence that no great writer of the western world since has been able to escape entirely the idiom and language of the Romans in dealing with them.

In the second place, many of the values more relative to Roman culture have a special meaning for us likewise, because of the Greek and Roman origins of our contemporary culture. A study of these can be especially stimulating for Americans, who play a role in world affairs so like that once played by Rome. The theme of Vergil's great song of a nation, *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*, might well apply to the United States.

Or to take another example, at once more particular and yet more universal in application, here is a thought from Livy that must give pause to any citizen of a democracy. Commenting on the election of Hannibal as Carthaginian commander in Spain, he said (21.4.1), "A few, including almost everyone of the best men, agreed with Hanno <who opposed Hannibal>, but as generally happens the majority overrode the better party." This same problem concerned the makers of our Constitution, one of whom wrote in the *Federalist Papers* (10), "Measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice . . . , but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority." Will anyone say that consideration of such an idea and the effective expression of its validity does not afford stimulating and vital mental food peculiarly appropriate for our youth today?

Its Modern Associations

The whole range of Latin literature is replete with statements on questions that challenge the attention and decision of all men who live in the modern world. An excellent one lies at what was for many of us the threshold of Latin studies, the first chapter of the first book of Caesar's *Commentarii*, "Of all these the most vigorous are the Belgians, because they are the farthest from the culture and refinement of the province, and least often do traders come and bring them those things which tend to enervate the character." And likewise a statement concerning the Helvetians: "Therefore the Helvetians also surpass the other Gauls in excellence, because they engage in almost daily war with the Germans." Two startling, almost shocking comments. Is it true that the products of culture and refinement debase the character

of their users? Does continual war enhance the excellence of a people? It was not so long ago we heard like sentiments echoed by a twentieth century Caesar and a modern Ariovistus.

But perhaps I can make the point I wish to make about Latin literature best by calling attention to the work of three great Latin writers, who dealt largely and in detail with three great themes—man in the universe, man in society, and man in his nation.

The Message of Lucretius

The first of these men, Lucretius, was a poet struggling to analyze the nature of man and the universe. In his poem, *De Rerum Natura*, he intended to deal, and did deal, with matters of science; but he wrote as a poet and not as a scientist, and in the end he created no scientific textbook but a poem. His poet's insight, given substance in poetic phrase, transfigured the concrete facts of the scientist until he gave us, not a precise and pragmatically accurate description of men and the universe, but a cosmic vision—a vision transcending science, and one ultimately more concerned with the happiness of man than with his physiology.

It was this sense of vision that made Lucretius, the scientific materialist with faith in nothing but matter, graphically picture the essential emptiness of the material, its powerlessness to make men happy, and denounce in scathing words the man who pursued it. The closing words of one such picture (3.1071-1073)—“if he were wise, he would abandon all else forthwith, and seek earnestly to grasp the real nature of things, since the stake—the condition of mortals for all the time which remains for them after death—is not for *one hour but for eternity*”—are words youth of the twentieth century would do well to heed.

The whole of the *De Rerum Natura* has this same characteristic in a marked degree. Time and time again, his poetic feeling drives Lucretius to a literary turn of expression that carries his thought far beyond the objective scientific statement. In describing the formation of whirlwinds (6.434-435), “as if something from on high were pushed by fist and thrust of arm and outreached to the waves,” it is as though he looked through the impersonal forces of nature to a personal Power behind them. His references to *Natura gubernans*, *Natura creatrix*, *foedus Naturai*, and the like, recur so frequently that Patin has written his well-known study of *l'anti-Lucrèce chez Lucrèce*. I should rather call it the poet, the creator of literature, the wrestler with values, in Lucretius.

A further illustration is seen in the following line (3.971), “Life is given to no one in fee simple, but to all in usufruct.” The simple scientific statement of fact would have been that all men die some day.

But as Lucretius the poet phrases the scientific fact, there are definite moral overtones. Life is not something that just happens to one; it is *given*. Moreover, it is not given outright, it never becomes wholly our own, it is given in usufruct, that is, it remains the property of another, not of ourselves, and must ultimately be returned to the donor. For Lucretius the implications of this fact led to a sort of fatalism. The Christian reacts to it differently. In any case, however, it is an excellent thought for young people to grasp and ponder for a while. And it is the literary form of expression that gives it this value.

Saint Augustine

As Lucretius looked upon the nature of things and, writing literature and not science, set before us a vision of the cosmos, and of man as a child of nature, so another great Latin writer looked upon the history of man, and, writing literature and not social science, set before us a vision of society, and of man as a child of God. Saint Augustine, a former professor of rhetoric, was both a profound scholar and an able and experienced administrator of public affairs in a period of social and political revolution. In the *De Civitate Dei*, fifteen hundred years before Marx, he challenged the validity of historical determinism: “The cause, therefore, of the vastness of the Roman empire is neither a matter of chance nor of fate in the sense meant by those in whose judgment or opinion, those things are chance which have no causes, or no causes proceeding from some intelligible order, and those things are fated which happen by the necessity of some system, independent of the will of God and of man.”

Against Marxism-to-come he asserted the freedom and dignity of man in terms that will always have meaning for Christian peoples. He eloquently examined the function of society, the purposes of government, the causes of such troubles as crime and war, and the problems of peace. His analytical definition of peace in the nineteenth book of the *De Civitate Dei* is a masterly argument that people can attain peace only by establishing a mutual and active relationship of justice. His comment on corruption in government, “without righteousness what is government but large scale robbery?” is a basic plank for the platform of any contemporary political party.

The Vision of Vergil

Beside Lucretius' vision of the universe, and Saint Augustine's vision of the history of man, we may set Vergil's vision of the founding of a mighty nation. In this vision he sets before us many things our twentieth century United States should not forget. He shows us that the successful achievement of such a great work (*tantae molis*) transcended the unaided powers of man alone. It demanded a strength of

courage, patience, and endurance such as flows from faith in the support of a power beyond one's own. With such strength Aeneas met the dangers and crises of his labor (1.198-207): "O comrades, you who have suffered more grievous woes, (for we have known evils before this), God will grant an end to these also. . . . Through varied perils and so many critical moments we bend our course to Latium, where the *Fates* shows us peaceful homes; there it is the *divine* law that Troy rise again. Be firm and reserve yourselves for prosperous times." With a similar faith our own Founding Fathers engaged in their work of foundation.

Faith in God, faith in and a vision of the future, respect for law and order, loyalty to the common cause above all personal considerations—these things Vergil saw and makes us see in the *Aeneis* as necessary to make a nation great. Are they not also necessary to keep it great? Can there be any more appropriate or urgent considerations to set before the minds of our youth?

Sir Richard Livingstone once wrote: "Nothing educates like the vision of greatness, and nothing can take its place," while the *Harvard Report* claims that "One of the aims of education is to break the stranglehold of the present on the mind." In the works of Latin literature the vision of greatness glows bright and steadfast but appears only to those whose own vision

Extra

Processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque.

To lead the students of our generation beyond these "flaming ramparts" of time and space, and show them the vision that will make them builders, not destroyers, is the challenge to which teachers of Latin literature must respond.

Donald B. King

College of Mount Saint Joseph,
Mount Saint Joseph, Ohio

The grammatical question which the Romans inherited from the scholars of Alexandria and Pergamos was one which has its counterpart in the history of modern scholarship. The Alexandrians upheld the principles of *avaloyia*, regularity or uniformity in language: the Pergamenes believed rather in *avowmalia*, irregularity or unevenness: grammar and idiom in their view could not be reduced to hard and fast general rules.—W. R. Hardie.

Personification of *Mors*

(Concluded from page 51)

54); *fatigare* (Stat. *Theb.* 9.280); *ferre* (Buecheler 1336.14; a Christian epitaph); *festinare* (CIL 9.1817.10; *fidem debere* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 1075); *finire* (Octavia 322); *fugere* (Sen. *Troad.* 954); *habitare* (Val. Flac. 4.147); *haurire* (Prud. *Cath.* 11.116); *imitari* (Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.260); *includi* (Prud.

Psychomach. 595); *instare* (Buecheler 485.5; cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.236); *intercedere* (Buecheler 1093.2); *interimere* (Lucr. 2.1002); *intervenire* (Buecheler 1091.2); *invidere* (Buecheler 1388.1-2; a Christian epitaph); *irrumperere* (Ov. *Met.* 11.538-539); *levare* (Publ. *Syr.* 613); *manere* (Lucr. 3.1091; Sen. *Troad.* 621; *Juv.* 4.95); *mergere* (Buecheler 695.2-3); *mittere* (Domitius Marsus, *Epitaphium Tibulli*); *nocere* (Buecheler 1408.7; a Christian epitaph); *obluctari* (Luc. 3.662); *obrepere* (CIL 6.1975a.2); *obruere* (Stat. *Theb.* 12.574); *occupare* (Ter. *An.* 297); *parcere* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.14-15); *percellere* (Prud. *Hamart.* Pr. 23); *persequi* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.14); *posse* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 939); *praestare* (Lucr. 3.214); *praevenire* (Ribbeck [op. cit. supra n. 3] *Appendix Sententiarum* 26); *privare* (Buecheler 1395.21; a Christian epitaph); *probare* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 1053); *prohibere* (Lucr. 3.864); *properare* (Mart. 1.91.11); *prorogare* (CIL 6.12652a.23-24); *protrahere* (Prud. *Perist.* 2.339-340); *rapere* (Verg. *G.* 3.68); *recondere* (Stat. *Theb.* 7.806-807; *reddere* (Prud. *Perist.* 5.360-361); *refugere* (Luc. 2.75-76); *replere* (Lucr. 6.1272-1273); *resolvere* (Prud. *Perist.* 5.358-359); *revellere* (Buecheler 1432.11; a Christian epitaph); *ruere* (Ov. *Met.* 11.538-539); *seducere* (Verg. *Aen.* 4.385); *seiuungere* (Buecheler 1971.5); *sequi* (Prud. *Perist.* 10.135); *stupere* (Stat. *Theb.* 10.26); *subiacere* (Prud. *Perist.* 10.390); *subire* (Luc. 6.531); *temptare* (Lucr. 6.1251); *terrere* (Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.84); *tollere* (Buecheler 618.2); *torquere* (Luc. 6.697-698); *trahere* (Ov. *Am.* 3.9.37-38); *urgere* (Val. Flac. 5.26-27); *vagari* (Lucr. 5.221); *venire* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.8; Tib. 1.3.65); *vereri* (Stat. *Theb.* 7.773); *vincere* (Buecheler 1331.4); *vocare* (Sen. *Agam.* 591); *vorare* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 1076-1077).

19 *Certamen* (Stat. *Silv.* 5.1.7-8); *comes* (Lucr. 2.580; Prud. *Hamart.* 704); *deliciae* (Publ. *Syr.* 30); *fax* (Buecheler 383.2); *gloria* (Buecheler 1142.25); *gradus* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.17); *imago* (Verg. *Aen.* 2.369); *laqueus* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.8); *mandatum* (CIL 6.21975.8-9); *nuntius* (Lucil. 1314); *oraculum* (Luc. 6.772); *potestas* (Buecheler 307.8; a Christian epitaph); *socia* (Ribbeck [op. cit. supra n. 3] *Appendix Sententiarum* 213); *virtus* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 1076-1077); *vis* (Buecheler 1225.9).

20 A number of years ago some of the chief epithets of *mors* were listed by Carter, op. cit. (supra n. 2), s.v. The following may be added to his list: *aegra* (Verg. *G.* 3.512); *fera* (Stat. *Theb.* 10.317); *immitis* (Tib. 1.3.55); *immortalis* (Lucr. 3.869); *improba* (Buecheler 652.8); *indomita* (Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.4); *inexpleta* (Stat. *Theb.* 4.473-474); *invita* (Luc. 6.531); *mitis* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 767-768); *pallens* (Prud. *Perist.* 4.139); *pulchra* (Prud. *Perist.* 8.4); *surda* (Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 767-768); *tacita* (CIL 6.1975a.2); *tristis* (Octavia 101); *trux* (Buecheler 2040.8; a Christian epitaph). 21 Cf. Greene, op. cit. (supra n. 1) 670. sec. 6. 22 *Inst.* 9.2.36. 23 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.360; 6.866; Gratt. *Cyngnet.* 347-348. It will be recalled that according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 211-212) Night bore Death. 24 See Hild. op. cit. (supra n. 2) 2006. On *thanatos* in art see O. Waser, "Thanatos," in Roscher, op. cit. (supra n. 2) s.v. 25 Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.834; 5.83. Tibullus alone describes *mors* as *nigra*. 26 Cf. Cowper, *Yearly Bill of Mortality, 1787*, and Dickens, *David Copperfield*, chapter 28. 27 K. P. Harrington, *The Roman Elegiac Poets* (New York 1914) 129-130. 28 *Scut.* 227. 29 K. F. Smith, *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (New York 1913) 204; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 833. 30 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.419, and Buecheler 995.8. 31 Cf. Ov. *Ars. Am.* 3.712. 32 Cf. *Habacuc* 2.5 and *Isaias* 5.14. 33 Cf. Buecheler 1930.1-2: *mors quae perpetuo cunctos absorbet hiatu, / parcere dum nescit, saepius inde fabet* (a Christian epitaph). 34 *Mors* appears with a sword in Stat. *Theb.* 1.632-633, considered above under mythological personifications. May it be that the torch and the sword are mythological attributes? 35 2.13.50. 36 *Herc. Fur.* 870-873; *Troad.* 1170-1174; *Hippol.* 1188-1190; *Herc. Oet.* 122, 1373. Other examples are to be found in Luc. 4.771-772; Val. Flac. 1.326-327; Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.131; Prud. *Lib. Apoth.* 767-770 and *Hamart.* 149. 37 Buecheler 652.8; 1385.1-2; 1391.1-4; 1412.9-10; 2010. Of these inscriptions the first four are Christian. See also E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Veteres* (Berlin 1925-1931) 991.1-2. An interesting, late apostrophe occurs in the *Epitaphium Vitalis Mimi* of "Cato," in J. W. and A. M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* (Loeb Series: Cambridge 1935) 636, lines 1-2: *Quid tibi, mors, faciam, quae nulli parcere nosti? / nescis laetitiam, nescis amare iocos*. 38 It may be added here that the metaphor of the "sleep of death" occurs with comparative infrequency in pre-Hellenistic Greek literature and in Roman literature of the Republic, but reappears later in both literatures (possibly because of contacts with people of Phoenician stock) in steady numbers; see M. B. Ogle, "The Sleep of Death," *MAAR* 11 (1933) 82-87.

Tragic Dido

(Concluded from page 53)

to shear a lock of hair and release the shade of Dido unto the winds.

Vergil's Dido is a symbol of the tragic in human life. How keenly the world has felt the tragic power of her story is illustrated by the fifty tragedies written in France, Italy, Germany, England, Spain, Holland, Sweden, Russia, and the United States. Closely akin in spirit to the tragedies are the twenty-five operas, including Purcell's well-known *Dido and Aeneas*, which has occasionally been produced in the United States.*

Thus the living Dido haunts us and will not be forgotten. *Nec nos meminisse pigebit Elissae*. Let us close these moments with her by quoting, with altered names, a quatrain by Walter Savage Landor:

Past ruin'd Carthage Dido lives,
Elissa rises from the shades;
Verse calls her forth; 'tis verse that gives
Immortal youth to mortal maids.

Clarence A. Forbes

The Ohio State University

NOTES

* Adapted from a paper read before the Classical Club of Cuyahoga County (Ohio), March 11, 1949.

1 For many facts and interpretations I am indebted especially to T. R. Glover, *Virgil* (London 1930) 172-207, and A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge 1935) *passim*. The references in the first paragraph are to *Ov. Trist.* 2.533-536; *Aug. Conf.* 1.13.20-22; *Macrobi. Sat.* 5.17.5. The familiar American colloquialism, "cutting up didoes" or "cutting didoes," a phrase in usage for the last 150 years, indicates that Dido has impinged upon the general consciousness of us inhabitants of *outremer*, as a proverbial synonym for wild and unpredictable behavior. 2 Tennyson, *A Dream of Fair Women*, stanza 41. 3 See details and references in Pease, pp. 68-69.

Breviora

Vergilian Summer School in Italy—1953

The Vergilian Society of America, under the presidency of Dr. George D. Hadzsits, again offers this summer its unique program of on-the-spot study of classical remains at Pompeii, Herculaneum, Cumae, Baiae, Capri, Paestum, and the great National Museum in Naples. Lectures will be conducted at these sites by outstanding Italian scholars—Professors Maiuri, Elia, Sestieri, and others, and every facility will be provided for transportation to these historic places. Living accommodations are provided at the Society's own Villa Vergiliana at Cumae outside Naples, and in Naples itself. There is opportunity for further private study at the sites, in the libraries, and in the Museum.

Teachers and students who have attended previous summer sessions have been enthusiastic about the special interest and inspirational value of this program. The coming summer's arrangements promise an even more memorable experience. As the capacity of the school is limited, application should be made early.

The lecture series is arranged in a two-week cycle, to be repeated as needed from early July to late August. Those wishing longer or shorter participation in the program may arrange it. Tuition and transportation to lecture sites cost about \$25.00 per week; room and meals amount to an additional \$3.50 a day. Members make their own arrangements for travel to and from Naples.

Those who wish to attend this summer session should write to the undersigned.

Raymond Victor Schoder, S.J.

West Baden College,
West Baden Springs, Indiana

Carnegie Latin Workshop Grants

Ten grants in aid of summer study at the Latin Workshop of the University of Michigan are again offered through the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Workshop will be conducted by Dr. Waldo E. Sweet of the William Penn Charter School, June 22-August 14. Holders of the grants receive whatever amount is necessary for their tuition fee plus \$600 to cover living expenses. The grants also include a generous allotment for apparatus, records, film strips, and other teaching materials.

Application should be made before April 1 to the Chairman of the Committee on Selection, Professor John L. Heller, 126 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Recipients of the grants will be announced about April 22.

Applications should include: (1) a transcript of undergraduate work; (2) a short statement of teaching experience and graduate work; (3) addresses of two persons who are sending letters of recommendation; and (4) a personal letter explaining the candidate's interest in the Workshop. The committee wishes to select those who will not only contribute to thinking on new approaches to Latin teaching but will also be able to impart to other teachers anything that may be learned.

Further information concerning the Workshop and the summer courses may be secured from Professor Albert H. Marckwardt, Department of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Holders of Carnegie Grants are also expected to take English 256s (Introduction to Linguistic Science), unless they are already familiar with structural analysis and the general principles of descriptive linguistics.

John L. Heller

University of Illinois.

ACLS Study Grants for Linguistics

The American Council of Learned Societies announces "a limited number of small study-aid grants to United States citizens who have some reason for extending their competences in the field of linguistics, and who contemplate the necessary study at the summer sessions of American universities in 1953."

Applications will be received from graduate students, faculty personnel in high schools, colleges, and universities, staff members of libraries and museums, and government research or policy-making personnel finding linguistic science pertinent to their duties. Applicants must fulfill the minimum requirements of being of at least first-year graduate status, in need of financial assistance, and possessed of United States citizenship. Awards will be made in the minimum amount necessary to complete the proposed program of study. Applicants are expected to provide: "(a) personal and academic history since 1945; (b) statement of reasons for proposed study and of uses expected to be made of its results; (c) description of program of study; (d) names of two academic references; (e) estimate of exact amount of award necessary to complete the program of study prescribed."

At the time of announcements, the ACLS expected pertinent courses to be offered at Indiana University (Linguistic Institute) and the University of Michigan, though it was added that applications for programs at other institutions would be considered. Applications must be completed by April 1, 1953; forms and other information are available from: American Council of Learned Societies, 1219 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Summer Sessions at Athens and Rome Schools

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the American Academy in Rome both announce programs for the summer of 1953.

At Athens, the director will be Professor Robert L. Scranton, of Emory University. The session will last for six weeks, June 26 to August 6, and will be open to graduates of American or Canadian colleges and universities who have taken advanced work in the classics; qualified undergraduates may also be admitted. About three weeks of the session will be spent in Athens, and about three weeks in automobile trips. Various points of archaeological interest in Athens and other parts of Greece will be visited. Cost of the summer session—exclusive of ocean transportation but inclusive of tuition, board, room, and all the expenses of the trips—will be \$490.00. Further information may be had from the director: Robert L. Scranton, Emory University, Emory University, Georgia;

or from: Louis E. Lord, Bureau of University Travel, 11 Boyd Street, Newton, Massachusetts.

At Rome, the director of the summer session will be Professor George E. Duckworth, of Princeton University. The session here also will run for six weeks, from approximately July 6 to August 14. Enrollment will be limited to twenty-two students, and applications must be received not later than March 1, 1953. Emphasis will be placed on the study of monuments *in situ* and on museum objects, with instruction and lectures showing the relationship of these to Rome's literary masters and the larger picture of Rome's culture. There will be excursions to places of interest outside Rome. Basic expenses—including tuition, accommodations, board, and cabin class transportation from New York and return—are estimated at \$1,000.00. Further information may be had from: Mary T. Williams, Executive Secretary, American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Book Reviews

E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Sather Classical Lectures 25). Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1951. Pp. xi, 327. \$5.00.

In this well-written and beautifully printed volume, Eric Robertson Dodds, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford, brings his vast erudition to bear upon the "nonrational factors in man's experience and behaviour" as exemplified by "certain relevant aspects of Greek religious experience" (p. 1-2). In attempting a psychological explanation of the evolution of Greek religion, Professor Dodds opens up a new field of study which may profitably be exploited. Many of his suggestions are interesting and illuminating, but the persistency with which the baby (religion) is thrown out with the bath (the irrational) is, to say the least, a bit disconcerting.

As Professor Dodds observes, the society described by Homer was dominated by a notion of *timē*, the enjoyment of public esteem. However, it seems an exaggeration to maintain that a sense of shame is the source of the religious convictions of that age: "We know how in our own society unbearable feelings of guilt are got rid of by 'projecting' them in phantasy on to someone else. And we may guess that the notion of *ate* served a similar purpose for Homeric man by enabling him in all good faith to project on to an external power his unbearable feelings of shame" (p. 17).

The author believes that a passage from a "shame-culture" to a "guilt-culture" was effected by the misery and impoverishment consequent to the Dorian invasions and the economic and political crises of the seventh and sixth centuries. Older cultural patterns reasserted themselves, and "human injustice might give rise to the compensatory belief that there is justice in Heaven" (p. 45). A sense of sin naturally enough brought changes in creed and cult: "In a guilt-culture, the need for supernatural assurance, for an authority transcending man's, appears to be overwhelmingly strong. But Greece had neither a Bible nor a Church; that is why Apollo, vicar on earth of the heavenly Father, came to fill the gap" (p. 75). The importance of dreams in such a cultural complex is discussed. The Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis is traced back to Scythian shamanism (pp. 140-143), which had led to a "puritanical" interpretation of human existence "crediting man with an occult self of divine origin, and thus setting soul and body at odds" (p. 139).

Mr. Dodds devotes a chapter to "Rationalism and Reaction in the Classical Age," and another to the religion of Plato. He attributes the breakdown of Greek rationalism to "the fear of freedom—the unconscious flight from the heavy burden of individual choice which an open society lays upon its members" (p. 252).

This brief summary of *The Greeks and the Irrational* is of necessity more of a caricature than a description. Still it should be sufficient to show that for the average reader this is a dangerous book because of its underlying philosophical and theological scepticism masked under the guise of "scientific humility" (p. 181). The author can see no essential difference between Christianity and the religions of paganism. His not infrequent references to Christian doctrines or practices reveal the subtle misapprehensions under which he labors. For him Lourdes has the same significance as Epidauros (pp. 113-115): yet a very simple examination of documents would verify the miraculous cures at Lourdes which, as a renowned authority has observed, "open up to man a new world" (Alexis Carrel, *Man, the Unknown* [New York 1935] 150; see also F. Leuret and H. Bon, *Les guérisons miraculeuses modernes* [Paris 1950]).

Nineteenth century classicists at times looked upon the Greeks as if they possessed some of the preternatural gifts of Adam before the Fall. Mr. Dodds, though he does not make the comparison, rightly objects to such a view. He might easily have demonstrated the "irrationalism" of the Greeks by an appeal to some of the sad incidents of their history, for example, the tragic condemnation of the victorious Athenian generals after the great victory of Arginusae. He has completely eschewed such an approach for this perilous investigation of the irrational in Greek religion. His own "rationalism" or agnosticism with regard to all natural or supernatural religion precludes the possibility of his bringing his studies to a successful term, and one is tempted to repeat the prayer of Nietzsche's mother: "Fritz, Fritz, if you had only kept to your Greek!"

Martin Nilsson has drawn attention to the failure of students of comparative religion to attempt an explanation of the one question which must be answered—the origin of the belief in a "High God" among primitive and not-so-primitive peoples (*Harvard Theological Review* 42 [1949] 106). For the rationalist to maintain that it need not or cannot be answered is simply to cast aside reason's boasted boot as soon as it begins to pinch.

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.

Saint Stanislaus Seminary,
Florissant, Missouri

Msgr. H. Tondini, editor, *Latinitas* 1.1. Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1953. Pp. 80. \$2.50 per volume (four numbers).

A new classical periodical called *Latinitas* was born at Rome in January, 1953. Published as a quarterly by the Vatican Press, it is edited by Monsignor H. Tondini, a Vatican prelate and distinguished Latinist, and directed by an editorial board composed of the following scholars: Monsignor A. Bacci, president, author of a well-known *Lexicon* of modern Latin; Monsignor G. Del Ton, Vatican Latinist; Professor G. Funaioli, of the University of Rome; the Reverend V. Genovesi, S.J., Latin hymnologist; the Reverend E. Springhetti, S.J., professor of Latin at the Gregorian University; and Professor O. Tescari, of the University of Rome.

The purpose of the new publication, which is written entirely in Latin, is to promote the use of the Latin language as a means of communication among educated men throughout the world. In its general character and function, it is not unlike two other Latin journals, now defunct, which were published at Rome in past years: *Vox Urbis*, 1898-1913, and *Alma Roma*, 1914-1943. But those periodicals were dependent for their existence solely upon their respective editors and died with them. *Latinitas*, however, is sponsored by the Vatican, and under such auspices it should have a long life.

In the first article of the first number, Monsignor Bacci outlines the nature and purpose of the new venture and defends the art of Latin composition as a humanistic discipline and an indispensable bond of union among the Catholic clergy. The second article is a statement of policy by the board of editors, inviting Latin scholars all over the world to contribute and indicating the various fields in which articles will be accepted. In addition to the usual type of articles in classical journals, that is, studies on grammar and style, criticism and interpretation of classical authors, and reviews of books, the editors will publish articles on Latin pedagogy and on renaissance and ecclesiastical Latin and will even welcome original Latin essays on larger problems of life, *de bono et recto ac vitae christianae officiis* (p. 8). As to the style of Latin which *Latinitas* seeks to promote and develop, Professor Funaioli makes a brief statement in the third article. *Est enim latinitas*, he says, quoting Cicero, *sermo purus, ab omni vitio remotus; latine autem loqui est verba efferre ea quae nemo reprehendat*. But he goes on to point out that if Latin is to be vital it must grow with the times, especially in the field of diction (p. 10).

The contributions that follow cover a wide range. There are two Horatian poems, one in the Sapphic meter by Father Genovesi and the other in Alcaics by Professor G. B. Pighi of the University of Bologna. Monsignor S. Romani, Vatican prelate, contributes a short article on the great work done by the late Giuseppe Fornari, founder and editor of *Alma Roma*; Professor A. Ghiselli, of the Lyceo of Bologna, contributes a discussion on a vexed passage in Catullus (10.28-29); Monsignor Del Ton studies the question of the color of "purple" in Vergil; Canon C. Egger, procurator general of the Lateran Canons Regular, has a long and scholarly article on Lactantius as the Christian Cicero; Monsignor Tondini writes a charming Ciceronian essay on the slow, patient work required in teaching Latin; and, finally, Father Springhetti

contributes the longest article, *Quibus modis res novae latine sint interpretandae*. There follow three short notes in answer to questions asked and three book reviews. The whole issue is contained in eighty pages.

The style and quality of the Latin varies considerably from author to author. Sometimes, especially in the two pages (8-9) in which the editorial board sets down its policy, a desire to be classical leads to obscurity, as in the expression *vulgatae per intervalla chartae* for "periodicals." Other obscure passages might be cited from this same article. On the other hand, the writers who present the philological studies on classical and Christian authors in this issue write the sort of business-like classical Latin which one used to find in the better Latin commentaries on Latin and Greek authors. Father Springhetti, however, in a very useful article, gives us a treatise which seems to come from his Gregorian University lecture room, and he has the clarity of the professor using modern academic Latin *viva voce* in such a way that his students may understand, at the same time avoiding barbarisms. For purely literary qualities, Monsignor Tonini's essay would take the prize. It has the pure idiom, the musical rhythm, the apt allusions, the genial humanism, and the quiet charm that brighten the essays that came from Tusculum two thousand years ago. And, above all, it shows that one can write excellent classical Latin and be eminently clear.

The annual subscription price for the United States is \$2.50 (for four numbers). Checks or money orders in payment of subscriptions should be made payable to the publisher: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, Rome. Letters to the editor should be addressed: *Latinitas*, Città del Vaticano, Roma.

John Hammond Taylor, S.J.

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